

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
FAR EAST COMMAND
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART VI

"STEEL UNDER VELVET"

95-GH-23-2.9

14 Feb - 16 May 1934
Vol II

~~RESTRICTED~~

These Memoirs are the private property of the family of the late Baron Kampo Harada and their reproduction in whole or in part, or use thereof in any abridged form, is not authorized except with express written permission of the owner.

DECLASSIFIED
Dir. 5200.9, Sept. 27, 1958
DOWN by 28 date 10-28-69

Master
14 FEB 1949
45750

Classification of the Saionji-Harada Memoirs
is changed to RESTRICTED, by authority of the
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, GHQ, FEC, by
Angus V. Rutledge, Major, Field Artillery,
1 March, 1947, (see para 16 AR 380-5, dated
6 March, 1946.)

Angus V. Rutledge
ANGUS V. RUTLEDGE
Major, Field Artillery
CIS, GHQ, FEC

RESTRICTED

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 118
(14 February 1934)

Anti-Cabinet Plots

Translated by T/Sgt. Tadashi Kishishita

Since there was a notice that there is to be a ceremony of installation by His Majesty at 10:00 A.M. tomorrow, I reported about 3:00 P.M. that Minister of Commerce and Industry NAKAJIMA may resign from his post, to the Prince by phone. And when I called at 7:00 P.M. to give him the detailed facts he had already heard them over the radio. Therefore, since the Minister of Commerce and Industry had resigned, there is a movement to oust a portion of the Cabinet, and following that, to unseat the Cabinet. This movement is supported by the so-called HIRANUMA faction, factions of the Seiyukai and the Kokumin-Domei, the Musanto (Proletarian Party), and the MATSUOKA faction, composed of the so-called proponents of the abolition of political parties. The Premier seemed to be well prepared for this movement.

From the standpoint of the Imperial Household, KIDO said: "Many letters are being sent to the Imperial Household Ministry criticizing Baron NAKAJIMA, Kunakichi in regard to his treatise on ASHIKAGA, Takuji. There are many which express the views of the Rightists and they are very bothersome."

Heretofore, the educated class of people keenly realized that it was undesirable to treat such matters as political problems. The Government realizes this also but such issues are the most useful in stirring up the ignorant class of people. At the present time, this

Anti-Cabinet Plots

problem is extremely pressing, so, although the resignation of the Minister of Commerce and Industry is distressing, it is believed that it was inevitable.

Using the replacement of the Minister of Commerce and Industry as their opportunity, the Kokuhonsha, in other words the HIRANUMA faction, which intends to complicate the difficulties of the Premier and even to overthrow the Cabinet, requires attention. In preparation, KABAYAMA, Sukehide often introduces the associates of Baron HIRANUMA to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and it is clear from various circumstances that KABAYAMA is devoting himself to a certain plan to make the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal realize that there are great men among the associates of Baron HIRANUMA. When I met the President of the Bank of Chosen on some business, he declared that Baron HIRANUMA was an appropriate candidate for the Premiership. He said: "I met Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal MAKINO through the introduction of KABAYAMA, Sukehide and I noticed that the knowledge and the character of Count MAKINO was remarkable and I admired him."

There were two or three other such instances. I learned that in the collaboration movement of HIRANUMA and MAKINO, the nucleus of the HIRANUMA faction is KABAYAMA, Sukehide and the nucleus of the MAKINO faction is TSURUMI, Sakio.

When I met OKAZAKI, Kunisuke at the Diet session on the 9th, he said: "Recently, according to KUMARA, the Minseito wishes to collaborate with the other factions as soon as possible and we think that MOCHIZUKI, Keisuke will probably agree with this, but it appears that

Anti-Cabinet Plots

MOCHIZUKI is not very much concerned with it. Since TOKONAMI is not concerned with it very deeply either. In order to collaborate, it is said that if the Seiyukai should collapse, through dropping the SUZUKI faction, and then be joined with the Minseito, it would be permissible to have TOKONAMI appointed as the President of the Minseito. Since there are many who support SUZUKI in the Seiyukai, this plan probably will not be carried out very smoothly. The political parties are thinking that the Cabinet will collapse after the Diet session closes. We are faced with the Manchurian problem as well as the problem concerning Russia and China, and relations with the United States are important; at the same time complete military preparation is especially necessary. However, if control of the Army cannot be well organized instead of the completion of military preparations, we will receive insults from foreign nations. To have the control of the Army so lax as at present causes much anxiety. To find good War Minister, in order to effectuate control over the Army, is the most important objective. Although we think that UGAKI is the most suitable man for the place, he is not capable of controlling the younger faction of officers. At the same time, it would be distressing to have HIRANUMA. Therefore, it can be concluded that we must endeavor to have this Cabinet continue after all. There are some who favor General MINAMI, but as yet I have not discovered who they are.

"Although the Premier, Finance Minister TAKAHASHI, and Home Affairs Minister YAMAMOTO are all old, it seems that they are deeply interested in politics and are adept,

Anti-Cabinet Plots

so that politics is moving much more smoothly. Therefore it can be supposed that they wish to retain their posts. Although the political parties think that the Cabinet will collapse after the Diet Session closes, the above considerations indicate that they will prove to be mistaken; I personally think that this Cabinet will continue."

On the night of the 9th, I invited the Chiefs of the Army and Navy Air Force Service Headquarters, the Deputy-Chief of the Naval General Staff, the Chiefs of the General Affairs Departments of the Army and Navy Air Force Service Headquarters, and Dr. TAMAKADATE to supper at my home, and we discussed the facts that Japan is behind other states in scientific facilities for aerial techniques, and in the provision of joint facilities for the Army and Navy; also that the Imperial University wishes to participate in the development of these facilities. We also discussed whether Dr. TAMAKADATE should present himself at the House of Peers and seek to advance this policy in the form of a proposition or an inquiry. As for my opinion, I encouraged him by saying: "All these suggestions are excellent; however, in carrying out this plan, since some members of the House of Peers will call on me, why don't you bring up these matters at that time!" The conversation came to a conclusion and we parted.

On the following morning I went to Okitsu and told him (the Prince) all the details surrounding the resignation of the Minister of Commerce and Industry, and the reasons why Dr. MATSUMOTO was appointed as his successor. At the same time, I passed along the personal views of OKAZAKI on political affairs to the Prince as part of my

Anti-Cabinet Plots

report. In reply, the Prince said: "Anyway, the successor was quickly appointed so I think that things will be all right." During the conversation, the Prince added: "I have some opinions on Field Marshal TERAUCHI as Premier; however, there is one matter which I recall and admire. It is that when I was Premier and the Field Marshal was the War Minister he often said to me: 'Recently, in the Army, the custom of worshiping the deceased or of praising deceased persons in unqualified terms is flourishing. This custom has brought a realization that there are many evil influences so that it is permissible to praise and publicize the work that the deceased has accomplished or left behind. But in estimating the character of a person, it may be discovered that it has caused disturbance to other people, or he may have done immoral things which are not permissible, in order to accomplish his work. Therefore, we should recognize the value of his accomplishments instead of praising his character. Thus, if we praise his accomplishments, there will be no evil influence. We are leading the Army to think along these lines.' I agreed with the statement of Field Marshal TERAUCHI. I realized that conditions must be as he said, and I admired his statements."

Then I returned home on the 12th, and in the evening I went to pay my respects to Minister of Commerce and Industry MAKAJIMA. In the conversation, he talked of the conditions prior to his resignation, complaining that: "Although I had decided to resign five or six days ago, since the attitude of the Premier was so cold toward me, I felt somewhat forced to resign." Anyway, I paid

Anti-Cabinet Plots

my respects and returned home. I thought, from our conversation, that the materials used by the public to attack the Premier and the Cabinet may have been obtained from the careless complaints of Baron NAKAJIMA.

On the morning of the 13th, four or five of the members of the House of Peers nominated by His Majesty, and the usual members elected by mutual vote, got together with Dr. TANAKADATE for breakfast and conversed in regard to scientific facilities for aerial technique. There were various arguments concerning the organization problem, personnel problem, and some other detailed matters. They are all in favor of the plan itself but there were such arguments as: "It is appropriate to present this problem"; and "Present it in the form of an inquiry as we planned." However in conclusion, we agreed that: "We should all meet the Chiefs of the Air Force Service Headquarters in person and present this proposition after various preparatory measures have been discussed." And we parted.

After that, when I called at the Foreign Ministry, Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU handed a letter to me secretly and he said: "Here is a letter containing a proposal in accordance with the urgent national policy of the former War Minister, left by the Vice-Minister of War; wouldn't you like to read it?" The War Minister had urged the Premier: "In the Imperial Amnesty, let the rebels be favored with the Imperial virtue. I wish to strive for the betterment of the government and the public, and to renew administration." It seems that, naturally, all of these have been considered from such a point of view.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 119
(17 February 1934)

Okamoto Attacks Hatoyama

Translated by Miss Fumiko Segawa

On the 15th, I happened to drop in at the Chamber of the House of Representatives and, true to my expectations, a person named OKAMOTO was making a speech impeaching HATOYAMA (Ichiro), Education Minister. OKAMOTO made an agitative speech based on groundless assertions. It appeared to me that the Speaker did not make any effort to stop him, but let him continue his speech. Today's scene at the Chamber supports the rumors of an expulsion movement against the SUZUKI faction, working in unison with the KURADA faction, and of a plot to overthrow the Cabinet. OKAMOTO himself stated that he had committed perjury. He said: "Of the several hundred thousand yen in bribes which HATOYAMA, Minister of Education, received, he cleverly escaped from sharing the sum of 50,000 yen. HATOYAMA found difficulty in its disposition, therefore asked me to certify that I had received it, and I committed perjury." OKAMOTO, sacrificing his honor, made a speech impeaching HATOYAMA, the Minister of Education.

About two or three days ago, the Seiyukai had already dropped OKAMOTO's name from their party-list saying: "Today, especially when the Diet is looked upon with suspicion, it is unpardonable for a representative to stimulate groundless suspicions concerning the conditions within the Seiyukai and to injure its reputation."

After today's speech, it was decided to have OKAMOTO referred to an Investigating Commission, and 18

Okamoto Attacks Hatoyama

committeemen from the various factions were selected. This movement amounts to an internal shake-up of the Seiyukai, and KUHARA continually seeks to exterminate the SUZUKI faction. It is a movement to oust HATOYAMA's influence from the Seiyukai. On the other hand, it could be AKITA's plot in which KUHARA and AKITA are collaborating. It is rumored that a certain faction of militarists are back of this, or that they were instigated by the Kempeitai. Nevertheless, it has created a scandalous situation and is looked upon by the public with scorn.

Therefore, the members of political parties in resentment are saying: "Due to OKAMOTO's actions, we will be delayed two or three years in gaining control of the Cabinet." Disappointed and discouraged, many are saying: "Should this political condition continue, there is no prospect for political parties to come to power."

To begin with, OKAMOTO is a sort of political racketeer, who had been employed first by MORI and HATOYAMA. As a matter of fact, he was one of MORI's henchmen. It may be said of such people as should be leaders of political parties, that they have brought misfortune upon themselves today by employing insignificant persons who do more harm than good. HATOYAMA's previous warning to MORI regarding him has been verified. With such incidents, it seems that the political party is digging its own grave. The plot is to compel Education Minister HATOYAMA to resign his position and at the same time to overthrow the Cabinet.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 120
(3 March 1934)

Hatoyama in Hot Water

Translated by S/Sgt Minoru Hara

When I met OKAZAKI, Kunisuke at the Diet he said:

"The evidence in the hands of ETO, a member of the House of Representatives, concerning the scandal in which the reyon corporation and the Karafuto industry are involved, was obtained by the Military Police. However, he openly declared that he has more facts. I heard that he personally stated that he would give them out in case the committee investigates. Therefore, it seems as though such Tammany Hall politicians as MITSUI, Kuge and YOKOYAMA are working hand-in-hand with the Military Police. A subordinate of Military Police Commandant HATA, a captain or a 1st lieutenant, came to my home, so I cautioned him about the aforementioned rumor, but he gave a vague answer. I imagined that this time the position of the Commandant is precarious so that he rather desires a change of Cabinet in view of his own position. Isn't that why he is causing this commotion by saying that he wants to construct a capable government? I also asked the Commandant's subordinate: 'Since political parties are gradually gaining power, isn't that the reason that you people are causing disturbances, so you can cause the Cabinet to fall?' He did not strongly deny this."

There is a subordinate of HIRANUMA by the name of JITSUKAWA who is acting as liaison with OKAMOTO, Kazumi. There are many people who talk as though there is a connection between the HIRANUMA faction and OKAMOTO's, but I believe that this is questionable. And when I met KOJIMA, Kazuo again at the Diet he continually

Hatoyama in Hot Water

worried about the possibility of a HIRANUMA Cabinet, saying: "If they are actually going to appoint HIRANUMA, doesn't it mean that this will be the actual introduction of a military regime?"

When I met the Naval Minister he also said: "The activities of the Military Police concerning the HATOYAMA matter are rather dubious." Again when I met the Chief Secretary he said that the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau came over to his place and said that if we let the Military Police guard ETO it would probably raise a problem, so will you notify the Metropolitan Police that the Government would like to put him in custody of the Metropolitan Police. And when I met the Minister of Justice on February 19th he said: "I personally asked HATOYAMA, Minister of Education, with reference to his affair: 'Isn't it better for you to resign?' Then HATOYAMA himself got into that mood and went to President SUZUKI to talk the matter over. However, it is true that President SUZUKI asked him: 'Won't you wait a while?'"

In regard to the HATOYAMA (scandal) incident, there is no legal evidence for the general rumor that he had (received as a bribe) 50 thousand yen. However, his illegitimate child (scandal) incident would constitute a case of forgery of legal documents; this would be a very adverse fact against him.

According to information I obtained on February 28 from various sources: "The movement for instituting a HIRANUMA Cabinet is now being most vigorously conducted. (The HIRANUMA faction claims that) they have obtained the understanding of Prince SAIONJI already through MIKAGAWA, Kijuro; (and that) they have secured the consent of high

Hatoyama in Hot Water

court officials through INOUE, Michiyasu. (in the prospective HIRANUMA Cabinet) KABAYAMA, Sukehide will be appointed Overseas Minister; KATSUDA, (Shukei) will be the Finance Minister; TOKONAMI, (Takejiro) will become the Home Minister; and with the consent of political parties, FUTAKAMI will be appointed Chief Cabinet Secretary."

When this (movement of the HIRANUMA faction) became conspicuous for the first time during the (last) Diet session, SUZUKI, the President (of Seiyukai) said that he would immediately expel from the Party the six or seven KUHARA faction members holding seats in the House of Representatives. If leading members (of Seiyukai), such as TOKONAMI, MOCHIZUKI, and OKAZAKI had supported President SUZUKI, and had aided him in executing this original intention of his, party discipline within the Seiyukai would have been maintained; and as a result of this, the power of KUHARA would have declined. This might have caused the splitting of the Seiyukai into two factions. At that, if Minister of Education H. TOYAMA had manfully accepted responsibility for the disorder it might offer hope to the public that political parties can be renovated. KUHARA's brother, Tamura, contributed 2,000,000 yen, saying that if TOKONAMI happens to come into political power he will donate this to him, consequently TOKONAMI was not able to agree whole-heartedly to ousting the President. It was the same with MOCHIZUKI. This was the reason why he lost so much of his self-confidence and it was a regrettable thing for the cause of political parties.

During this time the campaigns for a new Cabinet

Hatoyama in Hot Water

became rather lively, and the so-called HIRANUMA faction's activities have become more and more strenuous. This affair is rather dubious, but according to the Minister of Justice, War Minister HAYASHI told him: "I am having a hard time since the HIRANUMA faction is bribing me indirectly." When I talked to Prince KONOYE about this he said: "That seems to be untrue. Possibly Minister of War HAYASHI said: 'I would like to have a man in charge of the incoming Cabinet that will be able to understand the militarists. Baron HIRANUMA is the most suitable man.' If you actually remember that he praised HIRANUMA highly, it all sounds untrue.

There was a phone call from the Premier on the first saying: "I would like to see you this morning," so I went to his home about 8:30. He said: "The matter involving Minister of Education HATAYAMA has been entrusted entirely to the two Ministers, TAKAHASHI and YAMAMOTO, by the Cabinet and I arranged matters so that I won't have any direct contact with it. I believe that his resignation will definitely materialize in the near future, but I will have to hold his post concurrently until the Diet adjourns, so I would like to have the matter settled somehow. Looking at the present situation of the Seiyukai, if we attempt to pick some person from it and find that too much trouble results or if we take a man from group A and receive all sorts of complaints from groups B or C, I believe that it would be all right for us to take someone who is a non-partisan. For instance, it will be all right to transfer Minister of Agriculture and Forestry GOTO to the Ministry of Education." After saying this much, he said: "Some day

Hatoyama in Hot Water

when the Diet session is over I will go up to Okitsu for a talk and I would like to decide on future matters according to the situation at that time. Please give my regards to the Prince."

After leaving his place, it was still morning when I went over to the Department of Foreign Affairs and met the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. When I inquired about the situation he was worried, saying: "The young Army officers are greatly enraged because the Russian Army fired upon a Japanese plane at the border of Manchukuo and Russia along the Sungari River. Simultaneously a Russian plane disregarded the Manchukuo border, so there is a problem on hand. It seems as though the Army wants to put aside internal affairs and to bring the Russian problem to an issue. By coincidence, I met the Russian Ambassador on the 27th and he made a big demand, saying: 'The six employees of the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria finally have been released from confinement. Consequently, I would like to reopen negotiations on the Chinese Eastern Railway. Please buy it for 200,000,000 yen'. I believe that the Russians are willing to sell for 150,000,000 yen, but the Army would not accept. I heard that the organization of the Kwantung Army is to be changed in April or May, so it seems that they want to do something about it after that is over. The question is, where does the danger lie? In case the Kwantung Army can not be run efficiently after reorganization, I am greatly worried that there will be a great danger of friction. At present the Kwantung Army is under control but the big problem is as to whether Lt. General NISHIO, who is the new Chief of Staff of the

Hatoyama in Hot Water

Kwantung Army, will be able to admonish it."

I left on the night of the first for Okitsu and had a talk with the Prince on the 2nd from 9:30 in the morning until 1 o'clock. I reported to him about all the recent political affairs, and I also talked to him about the next Cabinet in case there were to be any change. Prince SAIONJI said: "You (HARADA) must especially warn MAKINO, (Shinken), the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, in regard to (the danger of) a HIRANUMA Cabinet being formed. The HIRANUMA faction seems to be earnestly striving to gain the good will of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal (MAKINO); therefore, it is necessary to warn KIDO seriously on this matter.

"Recently a certain person came to see me and said: 'It is rumored that (immediately) after the occurrence of the May 15th Incident (in which Premier INUKAI was assassinated) and before the (succeeding SAITO Cabinet was formed), Fleet Admiral TOGO came to see you and recommended HIRANUMA for the succeeding Premier. To this, you said that he (HIRANUMA) is not acceptable as the Premier (to succeed INUKAI) but that you had no objection to his being selected as premier for the next Cabinet.

"However, I have absolutely never said this sort of thing. The first thing that Fleet Admiral TOGO said to me was: 'Why don't you head the succeeding Cabinet yourself?' He urged me to form the succeeding Cabinet. I told him: 'My health is very bad; therefore, that's impossible.' To this, he said: 'Why worry too much about your health; your health could stand the strain.' He didn't say a word about HIRANUMA."

Hatoyama in Hot Water

Prince SAIONJI said further: "I have heard talk about three persons; they are HIRANUMA, SAITO and YAMAMOTO. (I did not ask this question so I can reply to the Emperor, but I only wanted the opinions of the others for my own reference.) Fleet Admiral TOGO said: 'YAMAMOTO will not do,' but he did not say whether SAITO being better than HIRANUMA, or vice versa. Please remember all this." I conveyed the message from the Premier to the Prince and he answered, "I understand." I left in the afternoon and stopped over at Kanakura to see Prince KONOYE. We talked about the item in the Hochi Newspaper concerning his going to America and I returned back to Tokyo late at night.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 121
(12 March 1934)

Critical Peers

Translated by S/Sgt. Minoru Hara

When I returned, the House of Peers' General Budgetary Committee was in a conference and the opinion of such influential people as Baron IWAKURA of the Kosei-Kai was: "The replies given by the Premier and the War Minister on matters concerning Manchuria and Mongolia are very obscure; nothing definite on important matters can be obtained; if their understanding of the problems is so confused, the situation is rather deplorable. We would like to have them explain more clearly concerning the abolition of the Special Service and what they are planning to do with the Manchurian Railway. The Kenkyu-Kai will not question the budget concerning the Manchurian-Mongolian problem. If they are not going to bring up this problem, the Kosei-Kai will carry on alone with a do-or-die attitude. It is undesirable for the special privileged classes to make the public think that the House of Peers' Kosei-Kai and Kenkyu-Kai are working hand-in-hand. Isn't it better if the Kosei-Kai takes independent action concerning the Manchurian-Mongolian problem?" Such opinions were being expressed.

I inquired about the Kenkyu-Kai's situation from OKABE, and I thought deeply that on foreign problems it seems as though the House of Peers is separating into two groups. It will be all right if the results are good, but I felt as though the Manchurian problems were not being solved smoothly, so I went to the leaders of the House of Peers and said: "Why don't you people get

Critical Peers

together and exchange your opinions with the Premier and the War Minister? I believe that the Premier and the War Minister know their responsibilities in respect to these problems. To discuss this matter rather bitterly at the Budget-Committee General Conference, or in plenary session, which is open to the public, is not desirable, because it will provoke public opinion. The War Minister was planning to remove the present Military Police Commandant in March but he is now unable to do so, since the opposition from the House of Peers is so great. Concerning the Special Service, the present War Minister is thinking of doing away with it but he will have a hard time actually carrying this out, since he is facing so much opposition. Everybody seems to be worried about the outcome in Manchukuo, but since it is being settled it is for the better, so why don't you people ask their opinion?" The Premier and the War Minister agreed to see them; however no secrets can be kept from the public no matter how secretly they try to meet. I felt as though it would create an undesirable problem if they met secretly, so on the morning of the sixth, I had several titled persons who are usually together come over to breakfast, including such persons as, RABA, Eiki Imperial nominee to the House of Peers, and EGUCHI, another member of the upper house, and I discussed matters with them. IWAKURA whole-heartedly agreed to my suggestion, but he said: "Although it is fine to get together if the Premier and the War Minister are going to be so considerate, it is more important that we should try to do a better job as members of the House of Peers, so as to make things

Critical Peers

easier for these two. Let us abandon the idea of seeing them because after various things have been revealed it will not be pleasant to find out that they may be a hindrance." He asked me to convey to the two persons: "Please understand our true feeling and endeavor to implement it!" Finally they all abandoned the idea of meeting them individually.

I met the Premier and the War Minister on the 7th and they both felt very pleased when I told them about this talk. When I met Prince KONOYE, he said: "There is a rumor that somebody is planning to start a terroristic action on the 10th or 11th. I have heard rumors that 900 pistols and some odd number of machine-guns have been smuggled in, but the whereabouts of these arms are unknown." I went to see the Chief of the Metropolitan Police, and he said: "There is a fellow who smuggled about 900 pistols in to Hyogo Prefecture about ten days ago. They were Mauser pistols instead of machine-guns as the public claimed. I met the governor of Hyogo Prefecture, SHIRANE, accidentally in Tokyo at a certain place and he said: 'The reason I came to Tokyo is that I want you to investigate the whereabouts of the criminal who smuggled in these weapons. He got out of Kobe and is now in Tokyo.' I immediately notified my subordinates to investigate and the criminal was soon apprehended. Out of the 900 pistols, twenty or thirty were missing, however we have a general idea where they went. Almost all of the 900 pistols were sold to Japanese in Tsingtao for use in self-protection. The one machine-gun is like a Mauser, so it isn't much to speak of." So that if there was actually a smuggling

Critical Peers

incident it was completely different from what was rumored.

I met the Foreign Affairs Minister on the 9th and he said that the Russian Ambassador recently came over and asked him to name the price for Manchukuo's Chinese Eastern Railway. He asked him: "Before going into that, what are your plans concerning the retirement fund for the employees of the Railway? What about the rumors I hear that Manchukuo must pay the debts of the Railway? How about setting up a joint special committee so that we will know for sure what is personal property and what is company property? It seems as though Russia wants the Chinese Eastern Railway to be connected with Vladivostok, since the Russian Ambassador said: "My opinion is that Manchukuo will protect our interests even after they buy it. It is all right to have a talk with Manchukuo, however I would like to show you the papers unofficially and have a talk with you personally. I would like to settle this with you rather than with Manchukuo because it will be undesirable for any problem to come up during the negotiation." Foreign Affairs Minister HIROTA said: "Members of the Japanese Army are doubting the Russian attitude. Is it true that the reason for asking 200,000,000 yen is that you people don't want to sell?" The Russian Ambassador said: "No, that is not true. We definitely intend to sell."

"I (Foreign Affairs Minister) sent a message to the Secretary of State on the day before Ambassador SAITO arrived at his post in the United States, and I received a message from the other side saying that relations between Japan and the United States are progressing well.

Critical Peers

It seems as though the non-official people are beginning to have more than their share of the dealings with Britain. Now that they are asking for governmental aid, the Japanese government will directly negotiate with England on this matter. At present, Ambassador MATSU-DAIRA is endeavoring to solve this problem.

On the morning of the 10th I phoned the Premier, asking him if he has any message, since I planned to go to Okitsu. He asked me immediately to come over to his place so I called on him about 8.00 o'clock. He said: "I was planning to settle the Formosan and Korean rice problems separately with the special Government account, but it is quite difficult so my plans are to settle them together. The people in the Seiyukai say that I went back on my word, but I believe that that is not true. Concerning the election laws, the Government is trying to maintain a plural-ballot but the political parties are expressing dissatisfaction. Whatever also happens, we must have an administrative readjustment. Furthermore, I wondered whether readjustment should be carried out by our Cabinet or whether it is better for the new members to handle it. I would like to have a talk with the War Minister after the Diet session is over and ask his opinion concerning the problems in Manchukuo. Some day, when the Diet session is over, I would like to go to Prince SAIONJI's residence and have a discussion on various matters. Give him my regards."

The Justice Minister, concerning the charge brought against him by a certain person by the name of OKAMOTO, said: "I will settle this with a firm determination in order to maintain the prestige of the judicial authority."

Critical Peers

I went to Okitsu on the 10:00 o'clock train and went to the Prince's home about 2:30 P.M. I returned after relating to him the current events since my last visit.

The atmosphere of the House of Peers concerning the Manchukuo problems is as aforementioned. Concerning the railroad problem, the Kosei-Kai may insist upon eliminating the second railway line, but on the whole it is expected that the budget proposed in the House of Peers will pass by a majority vote. On the 14th, the plenary session of the House of Peers will fix the budget.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 122
(19 March 1934)

C.E.R. Negotiations

Translated by S/Sgt Minoru Hara

I had business to attend to with the Sumitomo in Osaka so I left on the night of the 12th and arrived there on the night of the 13th. I returned on the morning of the 14th so that I would be on time for the plenary session of the House of Peers. There seemed to be no tension in the atmosphere in the Osaka area. This year Osaka's Government contracts amount to 55,000,000 yen. Of course, the bulk of this goes to the manufacturers of munitions, but on the surface the general atmosphere seems to be undisturbed.

I met the Navy's supervising officer for munitions production, Rear Admiral HARA, and the Army's Division Commander, TERAUCHI, while at Osaka and according to the Navy side there seems to be less tension. Rear Admiral HARA who has previously been with the Naval Air Force at Kasumigaura and Yokosuka, has close contacts with officers who at present might start trouble at the least provocation, so he is the man who knows the situation. These officers said that there is nothing to worry about. They also knew that a group of naval officers went to see KONOYE recently so they were saying: "Those fools! Let us see to it that such a thing doesn't happen again." Division Commander TERAUCHI repeatedly said: "It is useless unless they change the Commandant of the Military Police."

On the 14th, at the plenary session, the amendment to the railway budget was defeated by 180-190 votes against 80 votes and the original bill introduced by the Government passed by a majority vote.

C.E.R. Negotiations

Ultra-nationalists and the Kokumin Domei are trying to denounce the Justice Minister by having such people as Prince ICHIJO start something. It is a foolish thing to talk about; however, the ultra-nationalists took Prince ICHIJO to the Koizumi assassination house to prove that the Justice Minister visited there while he was the Attorney-General, and they had Miss KOI confirm it by introducing her to the Prince. It seems as though Prince ICHIJO was fully convinced. Furthermore, he believes the story that the procurators and judges, formerly clique members of a certain person named OKAMOTO, of the Chief Procurator's office in the Department of Justice, are playing the market together with a certain fellow by the name of NUMA of Kabutocho. Prince ICHIJO, who was fully convinced about the story concerning KOYAMA, told me at the House of Peers about his sheltering a Bolshevik sympathizer by the name of KOBAYASHI while he was the Chief Procurator. I said: "If you are really concerned about it, why don't you meet Justice Minister KOYAMA in person and inquire about it? I believe that it is very important that you should not be heard saying such things wherever you go, or be seen going to such places with ultra-nationalist gangsters all around you." Prince ICHIJO answered: "I was thinking of seeing him," so he met the Justice Minister during the afternoon and had a long discussion. After finding out that there was no basis to the tale, he said: "I understand."

On the night of the 15th I departed to see the Prince with KIDO. I met the Foreign Affairs Minister on the 15th and he said: "The Russian Ambassador called again and

C.E.R. Negotiations

said: 'In all respects it will inconvenience me if I have to confer with TAKAHASHI of Manchukuo. I'll bring the papers to you right away so please let me settle this with you.' He asked me about the suggested price, so I told him 200,000,000 yen is too high. He said: 'Then how about 5,000,000 yen less?' I replied: You're not anywhere near it. I believe you're asking over a 100,000,000 yen too much. The Russian Ambassador said: 'Please do not let the public know about this big difference in the estimates because we might be unable to settle this affair. Furthermore, I would like to have a talk with Manchukuo after this is settled.' It seems as though their main desire is to settle this matter with Japan. The Premier hopes to have this railway problem settled somehow. Finance Minister TAKAHASHI said: 'It doesn't matter if it costs 50 or 60,000,000 yen more,' and when I talked to the War Minister he had the same opinion concerning how this problem should be settled. This is a secret but there are some persons in the Chief of Staff Office who are saying: 'It is all right to sign the Non-Agression Pact.' "

The Premier said: "I would like to end the session of the Diet without any incident even though the bills for the election laws and laws for the preservation of public peace are still pending." He repeatedly told me: "I will go to the Prince's home when the Diet session is over."

KIDO and I left on the night of the 15th, met the Prince on the morning of the 16th, and talked about various matters. I told the Prince that there is a rumor that Prince KUMURI is to be the Premier of a new Cabinet.

C.E.R. Negotiations

The Prince's opinion was exactly the same as ours regarding Prince KONOYE's going to the United States and studying the present situation of our country from the outside; this will be of benefit to him and he would be better able to serve his country in the future. The Prince said: "It is unavoidable if the situation calls for KONOYE at that time, however we will talk about it when that time arrives. Furthermore, I would rather not have you say to the public that KONOYE will not accept. It is better to leave it as it is. The reason for it is that I'll be able to suppress HIRANUMA and UGAKI." After KIDO related his official business to the Prince, we returned to Tokyo on the noon train.

On the noon of the 17th, I had lunch at the Tokyo Club with Prince KONOYE and I related to him the matters we discussed yesterday at Okitsu. Prince KONOYE said: "I would by all means like to carry out my plan of going to the United States. Please talk to the Foreign Affairs Minister about it." I met the Foreign Affairs Minister in the afternoon at the Diet Session so I talked to him about KONOYE's decision, and KONOYE's trip to the United States was definitely settled. However, this is understood to be a private trip without official significance. In the meantime the Foreign Affairs Minister planned to see KONOYE.

Saionji-Harada Memoirs

Chapter 123
(24 March 1934)

Party Maneuvers

Translated by S/Sgt Minoru Hara

On the morning of the 19th, the War Minister's confidential secretary said: "The War Minister is planning to visit Momoyama about the 4th of April, so he is planning to stop over at the Prince's residence on the morning of April 6th. I would like to have you keep this quiet until that day."

For the first time in a long while, I went to call upon Admiral OKADA and he repeatedly said: "I believe there is no other person than Admiral KOBAYASHI for the next Navy Minister. I think that it is necessary to have the Prince vacate his position as Chief of the Naval General Staff as soon as possible and to put SUETSUGU in charge. To tell you the truth, if HAMAGUCHI were still living, Admiral SUETSUGU would not be able to step in today. The reason for this is that during the London Naval Conference, that is on April 1st, when Premier HAMAGUCHI gave instructions to the plenipotentiary, he called over YABUKI, Parliamentary Vice-Minister and SUETSUGU, Vice-Chief of the Naval General Staff to his residence. These two men were making various comments concerning the treaty when Premier HAMAGUCHI said: 'It is undesirable to criticize it when instructions have already been handed to the plenipotentiary.' Then SUETSUGU who was the Vice-Chief of the Naval General Staff said: 'I am very sorry for the numerous comments I've made hitherto while holding a responsible position in the Supreme Command Headquarters. Hereafter I will stop criticizing in such matters. I should

Party Maneuvers

have had foresight enough to stay at home even to this date, but there was so much work to be done at the Naval General Staff that I just couldn't help it. I will be more careful from now on.'

"I expected him to carry out his words, but on April 6th, in the House of Peers' session, as usual he criticized matters which he shouldn't have touched. Admiral KATO, at that time the Chief of the Naval General Staff, immediately reprimanded the Vice-Chief (SUETSUGU). Again, while delivering a lecture upon military matters in the presence of the Emperor, he explained the 12th and 13th Articles of the constitution to His Majesty and gave his own personal view on the powers of the supreme command. General NARA, who was then the Chief Aide-De-Camp to His Majesty, was greatly concerned over this, so he went back and told the Emperor: 'The explanation of the 12th and 13th Articles of the constitution given to you by the Vice-Chief of the Naval General Staff during today's lecture is only Vice Admiral SUETSUGU's humble opinion....' I don't know to what extent the Emperor remembers it, but there was such an incident."

On the same day I met the Foreign Affairs Minister. Concerning the statement recently made by him, there were questions asked by the Prince (SAIONJI): "Russia is endeavoring to avoid direct negotiations with Manchukuo. Is it because of relations with OHASHI, Vice-Chief (of Manchukuo Foreign Affairs) as an individual, or is it the fear of having the Army intervene?" I told the Foreign Affairs Minister about this discussion and he said: "I believe that it is due to both reasons. However, on the whole they have an ill feeling toward OHASHI, Vice-Chief (of Manchurian Foreign Affairs) as an individual, and, as a

Party Maneuvers

result, they feel that they would rather concede to Japan instead of to Manchukuo. I believe that they would like to be able to say that the feeling between Japan and Russia has become friendly."

Since then I have met the Chief Secretary and the Premier, so I asked them several questions about the situation, and they stated that they did not want the session to be extended if it could be avoided.

Mr. MATSUNO of the Seiyukai came over and said: "The names of the Seiyukai's die-hards up to now are KAWAMURA Takeji, YAMAMOTO Teijiro, and KATSUTA Kazue, who are trying to approach the military terrorists so that they can overthrow the Cabinet. On the other hand, the President (of the Seiyukai) and men around him cautioned them so they have been held down. To win the President over to his side, KUHARA felt that it is best to approach HATOYAMA, so he continually visited his place until August; however, we forewarned HATOYAMA so that he would not sympathize with KUHARA's one-party-for-one-nation principles. And we also warned him not to be too accessible, so HATOYAMA gradually broke away. It seems as though the KUHARA faction gave up in October. KUHARA volunteered: 'It is useless to approach SUZUKI and HATOYAMA,' but it seems that he is still planning to do something by winning over TOKONAMI. At present, it is AKITA's (Speaker of the House of Representatives) plan to injure the reputation of HATOYAMA. The President (of the Seiyukai) said that he seems to favor TOKONAMI. Although we say: 'the President's faction, the TOKONAMI faction, the KUHARA faction,' etc., in case of a showdown, I believe that the President's faction

Party Maneuvers

will have most support. There is talk about making TAKAHASHI Premier and about the TOKONAMI faction supporting him. However, TAKAHASHI is a person who acts in an honest, straightforward, fashion so in case of such a proposal, I believe that he will by all means consult the President and then decide. No matter how TOKONAMI presents such a plan, I do not think that he will fall for it." Mr. MATSUNO even went to the extent of saying: "There is no way of purifying the political parties except to dissolve." If the Diet should be dissolved the Seiyukai will have the majority, so it seems that it is their secret desire to see SUZUKI given an Imperial order. Mr. MATSUNO said to me that, even if the Imperial order is given to SUZUKI, the ministers do not have to be from the Seiyukai and they can be chosen from outside of that party: "We are satisfied as long as SUZUKI becomes the Premier. In other words, it is best to form a Cabinet comprised of capable men."

I parted with him after hearing his story. On the morning of the 21st, when I went over to the Prince's residence, I also included the above matter in the report which I made to the Prince. At the same time, I told him that KONOYE finally had made his decision to go to the United States so he reserved a state-room on the May 17th Yusen Kaisha's ship. All matters concerning the trip to the United States are discussed with the Foreign Affairs Minister and I also told him that the Premier said that the Diet session will not be prolonged.

The main problems, which were the bills for the public peace preservation law and the election law, were still pending when I returned, so there was such confusion, one

Party Maneuvers

would think that the session would have to be prolonged. The amendment bill for the public peace preservation law had finally gone up to the joint conference, but it had failed to pass. The bill for the election law passed without any trouble. According to the Premier, on the 24th, former Education Minister HATOYAMA came over to his place and strongly urged him to dissolve (the Diet). This must have been a counter-measure against the movement to throw out SUZUKI.

About the time when the Diet adjourned there were many rumors to the effect that the War Minister was going to resign and, since they claim that the Justice Minister was absolutely against revising the bill for the public peace preservation law, wasn't he going to resign? Anyhow a question came up as to whether or not the Cabinet was going to resign immediately after the Diet session was over, but the general opinion is that they will remain in office, and somehow or another it seems as though everything is going along smoothly. However, on the other hand, the general opinion has become strongly in favor of finding a suitable new person if he is available.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 124
(7 July 1934)

Saito Endorses Konoye

Translated by S/Sgt. Minoru Hara

About the time that the Diet session was about to terminate, the House of Representatives' amendment to the bill for the public peace preservation law was rejected by the House of Peers. Even though it went to joint conference it was finally thrown out. In the first place, a great error was made in the selection of members from the House of Peers to draw up the bill for the public peace preservation law. It seemed as though the Kenkyu-Kai was regretting this great blunder. The great mistakes were in having Prince ICHIJO as the chairman of the committee and YAMAOKA, Mannosuke as the Vice-chairman. In the first place, the relations of YAMAOKA and Prince ICHIJO have never been friendly. Previously Prince ICHIJO often told me about denouncing the corrupt state of the Public Procurator's Office; he kept saying that YAMAOKA was the head of it; from this I can tell that they were not on good terms. I'm positive that YAMAOKA is not representing the Kenkyu-Kai. Rather, he was far from being in the influential circle of the Kenkyu-Kai. Thinking that YAMAOKA, who was in such a position, was representing the Kenkyu-Kai, such persons as the Chief of the Accountant's Bureau of the Justice Department was negotiating mainly with him. It was reasonable for him to think in this manner, but the facts were different. Another reason for the bill's failure was that there were too many law specialists on the committee. Such a person in the House of Peers as OKABE of Kenkyu-Kai implied that this bill's failure to

Saito Endorses Konoye

pass was a loss of face to the House of Peers and he was greatly disappointed. He hinted: "I'll have this bill passed in the next Diet session."

The bill revising the election law is said by the public to be more or less mutilated, however it passed through both houses. The Kongokaihyo which is comparatively suitable for the House of Representatives was agreed upon; the Rensakitei was settled with hardly any changes from the original bill, and the fact that the bill passed safely through both houses was, at least, to the benefit of the government.

About the last day of the Diet, such persons as MATSUNO, Tsuruho, INUKAI, and the people from the SUZUKI faction, thronged my place and said: "Please urge the government to dissolve the Diet" so I told them that I absolutely could not do such a thing. Then the former Education Minister said: "It is all right for the Premier to dissolve (the Diet). Although there was a talk between the Genro and the Premier about a dissolution, it is strange that he does not carry this out." I met the Premier often during the time so I discussed this matter with him, but actually the statement was all false. At the time when Vice-Admiral HAKKAKU came, he asked the Premier: "Are you planning to dissolve?" so he answered: "If the election law goes through and there is a good reason to dissolve, I would not say that it is impossible; however there is no such reason at present, so it is improbable. Well, I'm thinking about it so...."

This story was transmitted to Mr. NAKASHIMA, Chikuho and the facts became clear that the former Education

Saito Endorses Konoye

Minister HATOYAMA got hold of it and began to say:

"I made an agreement with the Premier and the Premier is saying this and that." In other words, it is the desire of the SUZUKI faction of the Kenkyu-Kai to advocate dissolution, and it appears as though this movement is only for the restoration of President SUZUKI's influence. During this time, there were some close friends (civilians) of the War Minister who were spreading rumors that the War Minister would positively resign after the Diet adjourns. I was not able to get any information as to why such rumors were spread.

I went to Okitsu on the 26th and informed him (Prince) of progress within the Diet. And I also told him about the Premier who had said: "Up to now, I have taken a peace-at-any-price position, however that will not do hereafter. Unless I take positive steps, the people will start to lose faith. However, I believe that it is better to take such measures by having all new hands. For instance, with the present Cabinet, it would really be a difficult task to abolish the Department of Overseas Affairs, or to combine the Department of Agriculture and Forestry with the Department of Commerce and Industry, or to force any of the present ministers to resign or accept transfer." The Premier up to now desired Prince KONOYE to remain in the background, but he recently has been saying again and again that: "There is no other person comparable to KONOYE. It would be appropriate for Prince KONOYE, as Premier of an incoming Cabinet, to have a statesman with much experience and a good reputation next to him, in the role of Finance Minister TAKAHASHI in my Cabinet." This story came up when KIDO and I went to Okitsu the last time.

Sajonji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 125
(14 April 1934)

Hayashi Resigns

Translated by S/Sgt Jack Tashiro

Then on the 7th, I (HARADA) went to KONOYE's place in Kanakura and we made arrangements in regard to his trip to America. We decided that it would be a private trip, that is that we would say that he was going to see how his children were doing, and although many people are saying that they wish to accompany him, we decided that we would refuse them all and make it a private trip. Then I returned home.

On the 9th, I met the Minister of Justice and I asked him how far the problem of the Imperial Rayon Company (Teikoku Jinken) had advanced and the Minister of Justice said: "At present it is in the midst of investigation but the employees of the Imperial Rayon Company and of the bank (that is the lower officials and workers) are doing many things without understanding the laws, so there may be a breach of trust, but I doubt that the things the public is saying about such people as MITSUCHI and KURODA are true. And since the newspapers have been forbidden to publish this story, all sorts of rumors have arisen and the matter is very troublesome." Furthermore, the Minister of Justice said: "On the other hand, OKAMOTO will systematically continue his investigation."

Then I invited the members of the House of Peers, and SAKITANI and HOSHINO of Manchuria, for breakfast on the 9th, and we discussed the various problems relating to Manchukuo. KANO, who is the manager of the London

Hayashi Resigns

Branch of the Yokohama Specie Bank dropped in, so we discussed further the relations between the government of Japan and Manchukuo.

There was a Cabinet meeting on the 10th; the Premier made a formal report upon his recent talk with Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu. It was decided that we must take further action in this situation. We must put forth our efforts on the following 3 problems: the readjustment of finance and taxation; the reforming of the educational system and the establishment of a national thought policy; and the establishment of an agrarian policy. In regard to the aforementioned problems, the government will deal with them systematically. This was reported to the newspapers.

That afternoon I met the Premier and he said: "Although I wish to inquire of the Seiyukai about the problem of the Minister of Education, I will visit the leaders of both parties at a more appropriate moment, after the Seiyukai settles down. Then I hope to consult the Seiyukai in regard to the problem of the Minister of Education." At present, although the newspapers say this and that, the negotiation with the Minister of Commerce, MATSUDAIRA, and the consultation with the parliamentary Vice-Minister of the Finance Department, HORIKIRI, was not an official but a private discussion. The members of the Seiyukai are saying: "To negotiate directly with HORIKIRI without consulting the party leader is absurd." Although the newspapers are very excited about this, my intentions were not as they say. It is my wish to continue the talk after the Seiyukai settles down somewhat."

Hayashi Resigns

On the 11th, I met the Minister of Justice again and he said: "When we investigated the case of OKOI (Common Law wife of Viscount KAZUO) she confessed. Therefore, the activities of JITSUKAWA were easily understood. And it appears that JITSUKAWA is constantly visiting the Vice-President of the Privy Council, HIRANUMA, and it is very hard to understand why such a person as HIRANUMA should be so friendly with a person like JITSUKAWA."

When I met the Premier, he said that when he had previously met ASHIDA, ASHIDA had said: "According to HATOYAMA, he (HATOYAMA) sought the Premier on the last day of the Diet Session and said: 'If it is possible to dissolve the Diet---' and urged the Premier in this manner. Then the Premier said: 'I will call the Director of the Bureau of Legislation and ask him if we can dissolve the Diet during the first session.' So the Premier asked the Director of the Bureau of Legislation right there and the Director of the Bureau of Legislation said: 'It is possible to dissolve the Diet.' So the Premier understood this but he said: 'But we must have an appropriate reason to dissolve the Diet.' So it was not possible to dissolve it at that time." And he was publicizing what HATOYAMA had publicized. So I asked the Premier what had happened and the Premier said that HATOYAMA came to his home on the night of the last day of the Diet session and talked of dissolving the Diet so he had said: "If there is an appropriate reason, it is possible to dissolve the Diet, but at present there is no reason. And there is a question as to whether it is possible to dissolve the

Hayashi Resigns

Diet during the first session.' Then HATOYAMA said: 'How about asking the Director of the Bureau of Legislation.' But I did not ask the Director of the Bureau of Legislation right there. However, I did ask the opinion of the Director of the Bureau of Legislation if it was possible to dissolve the Diet when I saw him at the session the following day. So I did not promise that the Diet would be dissolved or anything else."

Then the Premier said: "The attitude of the government will probably become clear to the public, and in the meantime I wish to see the leaders of both parties in regard to the problem. I think that I will bring up the problem of the Minister of Education." Then I sought the Minister of Home Affairs, YAMAMOTO, at his official residence and he said: "President SUZUKI of the Seiyukai called upon TOKONAMI and said: 'Although the Seiyukai has saved the Cabinet so far, henceforth let us take the policy that we will not help the Cabinet.' But TOKONAMI was opposed to this."

In the afternoon there was a notice in an extra (newspaper) that SHIRAKAMI, Deputy Mayor of Tokyo, was sentenced to prison for 8 months. Since SHIRAKAMI, who is the brother of the War Minister was found guilty the War Minister, with a strong sense for principles, submitted a letter of resignation to the Vice-Minister, who brought it to the Cabinet Secretary. The resignation of the War Minister became a public issue and various rumors began to fly that this letter was to be used to overthrow the Cabinet and also that it was to be used as a tool to threaten the Cabinet.

Although I was to leave for Okitsu on the night of

Hayashi Resigns

the 11th, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Premier both said: "Wait a little longer." (Because Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal KIDO was traveling). So I met the Premier again and he said: "Since this problem is different from that of the Minister of Justice, and since it originated from a sense of moral principles, I thought that I would try to stop him but the War Minister is firm; he said: 'Since I am a military officer during war-time I may emerge but unless war occurs, I will not be able to emerge again as War Minister.' So I said: 'From one point of view, the present time is worse than war-time so I hope that you will continue as War Minister.' But he could not feel that way. And if we persuaded him too much, things may get more complicated, so we will wait until His Highness the Prince, Chief of the General Staff returns from Shikoku; then, with the decision of the three heads of the Army (Chief of the General Staff, War Minister, and Inspector-General of Military Education) I am planning to make arrangements to report to the Emperor upon the resignation. And I hope that His Highness the Prince, Chief of the General Staff, will take favorable steps." Thus the Premier told me the general trend of the situation and I left for home.

On the morning of the 12th, after considering various factors, if this incident is to be kept a secret until His Highness the Prince, Chief of the General Staff returns, I thought it best to go to Okitsu, report the general situation to the Prince, and return that day. Instead of using a phone or writing, with the feeling that I might be able to change his mind, I received the

Hayashi Resigns

permission of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Premier, and went to see the Prince to make a minute report.

Then the Prince said: "If the plan of the Government, that is the plan of the Premier, is decided upon, there is no alternative but to create an atmosphere favorable to carrying out this plan. It is best to call back KIDO from his trip." So I immediately called the home of KIDO and had them use my name to call back KIDO.

Then the Prince said: "When KIDO returns, discuss this carefully with him and do things seriously; then I think everything will be all right." I phoned the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet from Okitsu and he said: "The Vice-Chief of the General Staff was supposed to go to His Highness the Prince, Chief of the General Staff, and tell him about the incident but we stopped him. We decided to wait until His Highness returns." I left Okitsu and returned to Tokyo.

I called the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet and the Premier and it seems that the Chief Secretary is laying too much stress on what the Vice-Minister of War, YANAGAWA, says. Actually, since this incident arose, MASAKI, ARAKI, and YANAGAWA are showing on the surface that they are hoping that the War Minister will remain in office, but actually they are hoping that ARAKI or MASAKI will become the War Minister. And if MASAKI or ARAKI is unsatisfactory he (YANAGAWA) is acting so that he may become the War Minister. HATA, Commander of the Military Police, is saying:

"The War Minister probably will not remain in office. And since General ARAKI has recovered his health I think

Hayashi Resigns

that he is appropriate for the position of War Minister." He is saying this all over the place. He actually came to the Secretary of the Cabinet's place and said: "If General HAYASHI should change his mind and remain in office he will not be able to control the Army. It is better to stop the Vice-Chief of the General Staff from going to see His Highness the Prince, Chief of the General Staff. Anyway, we should wait until His Highness returns. I think it better if the Premier does not request audience of the Emperor immediately after he returns." I (HARADA) could not consider this as being said with sincerity.

I secretly called the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau NAGATA and asked him various things. It seems that the present situation is exactly as I said, for ARAKI, HASAKI, YANAGAWA, and HATA have combined and are trying to oust HAYASHI and to do things as they please, but it appears that they are considering it safest to have HAYASHI remain in office if they are unable to fulfil their wishes, lest ABE, MINAMI or MATSUI should get the position of War Minister.

The Premier went to see General HAYASHI on the morning of the 12th and tried to persuade him to remain in office but he did not succeed. And Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau NAGATA also said: "Even if we wait for the return of His Highness the Prince, Chief of the General Staff, the three army heads probably will not be able to determine anything. So the Premier should take the responsibility and forward to the Emperor the letter of resignation. And at the same time the Premier should say: 'I hope that you will refuse to receive the letter of resignation.' He

Hayashi Resigns

should take the same measures as when the problem of the Minister of Justice arose." But the Premier took a firm attitude and was not in favor of this plan.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs.

Chapter 126
(20 April 1934)

Hayashi Remains

Translated by Staff Sgt Jack Tashiro

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal called me (HARADA) and he said: "It is permissible for the Premier, upon his own responsibility, to say to the Emperor that, since this is a critical period: 'If possible, at this stage, do not approve the resignation of the War Minister.' "

But the Premier said that that would be carrying things too far and he was very hesitant. He said: "We will wait for the return of His Highness the Prince, Chief of the General Staff."

On the morning of the 13th, I met the Premier and the Chief Cabinet Secretary and I told the Premier: "I heard from the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau how the Vice-Chief of General Staff felt, and that he is saying that he wishes to bring to realization the desire of all the members of the General Staff to have General HAYASHI remain in office. And although he (Vice-Chief of the General Staff) frequently wishes to meet the Chief Cabinet Secretary, the Chief Cabinet Secretary said that it would not be good if troublesome problems arose so they did not meet. I heard this from the Chief Cabinet Secretary, but UEDA's idea is that if the desire is to have General HAYASHI remain in office, the Premier should clearly state that his opinions are such and such by phone to Vice-Chief UEDA. And it would be best if the Vice-Chief went to greet the Chief of the General Staff His Highness the Prince and told him the opinions of the Premier." The Premier replied: "I will think it over."

Hayashi Remains

KIDO came home from his trip early the next morning, so before going to the Premier's place, I dropped in to see KIDO for a minute and told him the general situation. Then I went to see the Premier. Just before I went home the Premier said: "Can you tell just KIDO and no one else that I think it would be very convenient if the Emperor would summon in some way the Chief of the General Staff, His Highness the Prince, when he reaches Tokyo; and if His Highness attends the Conference of the Big Three (War Minister, Chief of General Staff, and Inspector-General of Military Education) with full understanding of the wishes of the Emperor." At the same time he said: "Although I want to make a report on present conditions to the Emperor, since the newspapers are writing various things and society is clamorous, if I reported to the Emperor now various problems may arise and that would be bad, so tell KIDO that I said: 'Although I went twice to persuade the War Minister to remain in office, it appears that the War Minister has no intentions of doing so. Although I do not know how things will develop after the conference of the Big Three, I hope to try to persuade him to remain in office. And that present conditions are thus so.' Have KIDO report this to the Emperor through the Chief Aide-de-Camp."

About 12:30, I went to the Tokyo Club and met KIDO. We had a desultory conversation as we dined and when I relayed to him what the Premier wished me to tell him, it appeared that KIDO had heard various things from the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, for he said: "It is the idea of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal that the moment

Hayashi Remains

His Highness the Prince returns to Tokyo, it is best that the Premier report to the Emperor and express his opinion. And he (Premier) should take the attitude of not worrying about what people will say and fulfill his responsibilities."

Then I said: "The Emperor should summon His Highness the Prince, Chief of the General Staff and so forth." KIDO replied: "That is not a good idea. The people will say that there is some trickery of the officials near the Emperor, and it will become material for various rumors. It would be troublesome if they forced the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Chief Aide-de-Camp to take the responsibility. Instead, as the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal says, it is more appropriate for the Premier to request audience of the Emperor immediately after His Highness the Prince returns." KIDO consented to make the report requested by the Premier on present conditions to the Emperor through the Chief Aide-de-Camp and we parted.

I immediately went to the Premier's place and told him what the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had said, and that KIDO was very worried that if the Emperor should summon His Highness the Prince immediately after he returns, dangerous issues might arise. Therefore, he (KIDO) was opposed to such action. The Premier replied: "Then I will consult His Highness the Prince in some way or other."

After that I conversed with the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau and he said: "To have the Premier report to the Emperor is very dangerous, and since the Vice-Chief of the General Staff is going to Shizuoka to greet His Highness the Prince, I think it is most appropriate to have the Vice-Chief tell His Highness the opinion of the

Hayashi Remains

Premier." So I called the Chief Cabinet Secretary and the Premier and we decided to act in that way.

On the night of the 13th, Count HASHIMOTO came and he said: "I heard this from KONOYE; General ARAKI called KONOYE and said: 'General HAYASHI is saying that even if the Emperor orders him to remain in office, he will not remain. So he (HAYASHI) wants me (ARAKI) to become the War Minister. But with this Cabinet, I do not want to become the War Minister. There is one faction that tells me to do so and another faction that tells me not to do it.' This is what General ARAKI told KONOYE over the phone."

I told the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau about the aforementioned conversation and he said: "I hope things will work out so that KONOYE will not be moved by such trifles."

On the morning of the 14th, the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau called me up and said: "I think that everything will be all right. Even if the War Minister does not remain in office, nothing serious will happen." I became worried because it seemed that the Chief Cabinet Secretary did not fully understand this, so on the morning of the 14th, I called up the Chief Cabinet Secretary and the Premier and said to both of them: "What you are saying is similar to what the Vice-Minister of War, the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, and the Vice-Chief of the General Staff are saying, but there is a great difference in motives so it will be troublesome unless you differentiate between them carefully. I explained further, that these (three) are saying: 'To have the Premier meet His Highness is a very delicate matter, so it will be troublesome

Hayashi Remains

unless they are careful.' And Vice-Minister of War YANAGAWA says that with the meaning that he does not want them to meet. But the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau and the Vice-Chief of the General Staff mean that the Premier and His Highness must meet and consult each other, but that since it is so dangerous, they may have to use a liaison man. Unless you consider very carefully what Vice-Minister YANAGAWA meant, a serious result may occur, and since there is a great difference in the basic meaning of what the former and the latter said, it will be troublesome unless you understand this thoroughly and select the right course to follow."

On the morning of the 14th, I called Lt. General INAGAKI, an intendant to Prince KAN-IN, and asked him the situation and he said, "I think that things will develop so that he will remain in his post as the War Minister." It appears that General ABE's encouragement to remain in his post had a great effect, for this report was received by the Premier thru NAGAI, Minister of Overseas Affairs.

The verbal message of the Premier was relayed to Vice-Chief of General Staff UEDA thru the Chief Cabinet Secretary and it was:

"At the present time, from the standpoint of the political situation and regardless of the various rumors in regard to it, it is necessary on a whole for the War Minister to remain in office. Explain to His Highness the Prince that there is a demand for the War Minister to remain in office." Fortunately, there was a phone call from the Vice-Chief of General Staff to the Chief Cabinet Secretary, so the Chief Cabinet Secretary said:

Hayashi Remains

"I relayed the message."

Therefore, the fact that the Premier did not have to meet His Highness the Prince publicly, and that there wouldn't be any written material as evidence that could be used to attack them, which were the things that the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau and those members of the General Staff Headquarters who are concerned were worried about, and the fact that the Chief of the General Staff conveyed the wishes of the Premier, combined to devise a very suitable way of handling the matter.

At 9:20 p.m. His Highness the Prince reached Tokyo station. Immediately after reaching his home he summoned War Minister HAYASHI who had confined himself to his quarters. At 9:47 the War Minister called at the home of Prince KAN-IN and made a detailed report, concluding that the circumstances left no alternative but to present a letter of resignation. His Highness merely listened and did not express his real intentions at that time, but he spoke to him very kindly and the War Minister left about 10:20 p.m. Although the Vice-Chief of the General Staff was with His Highness for some time, His Highness summoned MASAKI, Inspector-General of Military Education and asked him his opinion.

As a result, the conference of the Big Three was held at the official residence of the War Minister at 1:00 p.m. And it was decided at about 3:00 p.m. that the War Minister would remain in his post. Therefore, on the morning of the 15th, Vice-Minister of War YANAGAWA told the newspaper reporters: "It did not sound like His Highness requested him to remain in his post as War Minister. According to

Hayashi Remains

the story I heard from ARIMATSU who is the secretary to the Military Aide, His Highness was very tired after his long journey. Although the War Minister did not discuss the problem of a successor, I think that the matter will advance when Inspector-General M. SAKI meets His Highness at 9:00 a.m. tomorrow. At present, I think it is very difficult for the War Minister to retain his post. If he is to be influenced to retain his post, I think that some new reason must be found. After the close of the conference of the Big Three, if the matter matures favorably, the successor should be determined by tomorrow and General HAYASHI may report accordingly to the Premier. Anyway, we must wait until tomorrow's conference. At the present time, we do not know how things will turn out. The War Minister is probably happy tonight. And it appeared that he was especially happy after he had met His Highness. It seems that he felt very relieved from the severe strain imposed upon him in the last few days." This interview appeared in the newspapers.

On the following day, that is about 3:00 p.m. of the 15th, it was decided that the War Minister would remain in office. Early on the morning of the 15th, I called intendant INAGAKI and said: "I have a hunch that the War Minister will retain his office." And since I figured that the conference of the Big Three would last from 1:00 p.m. until about 5:00 or 6:00 p.m. that afternoon, I took the former acting Minister to India and a member of the British Labor Party and his wife to Asakusa and Ueno. I called home frequently from three or four places to learn the latest developments. We had tea in Asakusa and I

Hayashi Remains

called home from the tea shop; they (someone at home) said: "The Premier and the Chief Cabinet Secretary just called." So I immediately called the Premier and the Chief Cabinet Secretary and they said: "It has been decided that the War Minister will remain in office."

Then I called KIDO but he wasn't home so I called the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Chief Aide-de-Camp and notified them of what had happened. And they were very happy. At the same time I called Prince SAIONJI in Okitsu and told him. And I also told the Prince that I would go to see him on the 17th and tell him about the War Minister. Then I returned home.

I called Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau NAGATA and told him what happened and he was very happy and said:

"Then it is settled."

Since Prince KONOYE was to go to the United States the following month, he sought Prince SAIONJI in Okitsu at 9:30 p.m. on the 15th; they conversed for about two hours. KONOYE returned to Kanakura that night. So I called Prince KONOYE's home to tell him that the War Minister was to retain his office.

Then at 9:00 a.m. on the 16th, the intendant of Prince KAN-IN came and he said: "The military police were following me until yesterday. At first, ARAKI, MASAKI and the police had no intention of having the War Minister remain in office; they wished that one of them (MASAKI or ARAKI) would become the War Minister, but they thought that Prince KAN-IN might recommend General MINAMI so they changed their minds and the last few days they have been saying

Hayashi Remains

that the War Minister should remain in office. His Highness noticed the attitude taken by MASAKI and ARAKI in regard to this problem and although they speak of the future, there is nothing to worry about."

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 127
(27 April 1934)

The Arima Declaration

Translated by S/Sgt Jack Tashiro

On the afternoon of the 16th, I met the Minister of Justice and asked him questions in regard to the Imperial Rayon Incident and he said: "Although the transfer of stocks have been stopped until the end of May, some people are transferring stocks on the 6th of May, dating them as the 31st of May. This is forgery of documents; not only that, it is clear that they are doing this to benefit themselves and at the same time to enrich a certain group of people in that circle. And they are planning to raise the value of the shares - for instance, to increase the capital by 15 million yen, shareholders will be allotted 2 new shares in lieu of 3 old shares. and to increase the dividends from 12% to 15%. When the Bank of Taiwan investigated this, the aforementioned was contained in the contract but actually, even though SHIMADA has caused the Bank of Taiwan to lose 2,875,000 yen, he and his friends are benefiting by it. So it is clear that there is a breach of trust." Furthermore, he continued:

"Since everything is not clear and since the procuratorial office must investigate the story, it was not permitted to be printed in the papers, so various rumors have been flying about and some people are saying that MITSUCHI is suspected that Vice-Chief KURODA was killed, and that MAKASHIMA, Minister of Commerce and Industry is suspected, but according to the investigation so far, there is nothing to worry

The Amau Declaration

about. In the case of former Minister NAKASHIMA, since a letter of refusal by NAKASHIMA in regard to the gift for bribing him appeared, it made the position of NAKASHIMA much safer.

"In regard to the actions taken by OKAMOTO and JITSUKAWA, we will prosecute them systematically. Henceforth, we will place judiciary police officials directly under the procurator. And we have taken steps so that when the Chief Procurator deems it necessary, he can dispatch seven or eight detectives and three hundred forty or fifty inspectors to various places.

On the 17th, I went to Okitsu and made a report on conditions before and after retention of his post by the War Minister and returned home.

In the afternoon of the 17th, the Chief of the Information Bureau of the Foreign Affairs Ministry said: "Recently, the advancement of Europe, the United States and other countries in China has become noticeably aggressive and there is a necessity to watch very closely the economic and military assistance that the United States and England are giving; in regard to the aforementioned, the Foreign Affairs Ministry said thus and so. Chief of the Information Bureau AMU said: "In regard to the assistance that the various countries are giving China, Japan must oppose it very decisively. And if present conditions continue, they will disturb the peace in Asia." And since he (AMU) made a detailed report on the situation, the various newspapers printed it boldly as a declaration of the Foreign Affairs Ministry. And the comments of the various countries in regard to this were very strong, so that the Foreign Affairs

The Anau Declaration

Ministry was somewhat taken aback. Actually, the Vice-Minister and Minister knew nothing of this. In actuality, since various countries were selling arms to China a feeling of insecurity arose, so the Foreign Affairs Ministry sent instructions to the Ministers stationed over-seas, the so-called Ambassadors and Ministers. Then the Chief of the Information Bureau translated into his own English the contents of the official instructions and he gathered the foreign correspondents and talked and this was the cause of all the trouble. I heard later that it would have been better to show the English translation in the official instructions instead of his own translation.

Chief of the Information Bureau AMU has always been a fine man but since he is so careless we have not had much contact with him. After that I went to the Foreign Affairs Ministry and met the Minister and Vice-Minister and asked them various questions but it seems that they were not greatly worried about the matter, and on the surface the Minister and Vice-Minister said: "It is nothing serious."

I met the Premier on the 24th and it seemed that the Premier was very much surprised at what AMU had done. He said: "Even if the Imperial Rayon Incident affects the former Minister of Education HOTOYAMA, it will probably not become a problem for the courts." He was not worried about this as he had been. In regard to a successor for the Minister of Education, he said: "In the meantime, we must select a successor for the Minister of Education."

When I met the Minister of Home Affairs, he said:

The Amai Declaration

"At the conference of the district officials, we will rid ourselves of standardization and we will let the various Prefectures have the industry that is suited to them geographically and set their policies according to their historical conditions. Furthermore, we will delegate central power to the districts." It seems that he wished the authority of the Prefectural governors to be increased.

I also met the Minister of Finance and he also seemed worried about the Imperial Rayon Incident. And he said: "But it doesn't seem to have much connection with the Cabinet Ministers. Thinking back, OKAZAKI, Kunisuke came exactly 10 months ago, and he said: 'Although this was the desire of ITO, Miyoji, he asked the Bank of Taiwan to sell some shares of the Imperial Rayon Company, which are guaranteed by the Bank of Japan, for 60 - 65 yen.' And he refused. Therefore, in thinking back, ITO, Miyoji was very sharp in such dealings." And he was laughing.

Then I went to the Foreign Affairs Ministry and when I met the Minister, he said: "The problem of the Chinese Eastern Railway seems to be developing favorably. And the internal connections are developing favorably so if Russia favors it I think we can settle the problem. We must send a special Minister to Manchukuo. Since we hope to have a member of the Imperial Family go, we will be happy to be able to approach His Highness the Prince CHICHIBU. In other words it will become a Garter Mission." And he said that this was generally determined at the Cabinet meeting.

That night I went to meet the Minister of Justice

The Anau Declaration

and he said: "At present it appears that all those who are held in connection with the Bank of Taiwan case will be convicted. And since it is clear that their objective was to have the Bank sell their stock cheaper than the prevailing price at a loss to the Bank of Taiwan, and by so doing to benefit themselves and others, it is also clear that a breach of trust was involved. In the case of JITSUKAWA, the facts are becoming apparent from a confession by OKOI who is being held at the present time. And it seems that the problem, the so-called Imperial Rayon Incident, which HATOYAMA and SUZUKI are concerned with will not become a problem from the standpoint of law."

Then I met the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs at the Foreign Affairs Ministry and he said: "The other day the Russian Ambassador YURENEV came, so I said: 'In Japan there are various opinions in regard to China. I have had long experience in China. And although I believe that eventually the actions that Japan is taking in China will be recognized as righteous, it is most regrettable that your country does not understand the righteous actions of Japan.' Then the Russian Ambassador said: 'I hear that General HAYASHI is going to resign; who is going to be his successor.' So I replied: 'I doubt that General HAYASHI will resign. If he should resign, they will probably appoint someone who has the same principles as General HAYASHI.'

"There was much confusion when the War Minister brought forth his letter of resignation but when I met Ambassador YURENEV later, he said: 'We were intimidated by General ARAKI, and by OHASHI, Foreign Affairs Vice-

The Anau Declaration

Minister of Manchukuo so we had the wrong impression of the condition in Japan. Since General ARAKI represents the Army and we thought that the Army represents Japan we thought that General ARAKI was representing Japan. This was a great mistake. Heretofore, the Russian Ambassador had met various people and asked various questions and these suspicious politicians have given irresponsible answers and the Russian Ambassador has sent all these answers back to Russia. It is clear that the reason that Russia gathered her troops near the boundaries of Manchukuo and made various plans was to the stimulus caused by ARAKI's opinions when they (ARAKI and the Russian Ambassador) had met."

Then the Vice-Minister of the Foreign Ministry said: "The reason that we made the statement in the newspapers the other day is that it would be embarrassing if the relations between China and Japan are brought up in the forthcoming conference as actually happened some years ago in the League of Nations. Our wish is that the forthcoming disarmament conference will be devoted solely to the problem of disarmament and will not include the problem of China. And that Japan and China be on the same level and be self-sufficing. And we think it would be best if the atmosphere within the nation can be consolidated along these lines and gradually become recognized by foreign nations. At the present time the League of Nations is loaning money to China and giving aid. Great Britain is also giving aid to China and certain types of assistance become a hindrance to Japan. Therefore, Great Britain may withdraw from China because of

The Anau Declaration

the statement that was made in the papers and I think that the issue will quiet down. Although the United States does not say anything, I think that it will gradually understand. We are very much troubled because China is using this statement for various propaganda purposes but we cannot help that. And as time goes on, there will not be too much to worry about."

On the 25th, I went to see the Prince and made a general report. I told him the opinion of the Foreign Ministry and the Prince said: "In the case of the Information Bureau, it is like a reception room for the Foreign Ministry. We must have a staunch person there for his influence will be great." And he was worried. He continued: "On the 2nd of May, I will go to Tokyo and pay my respects to the Emperor and will also inquire about his health. I also wish audience with the Crown Prince. Please make all the necessary arrangements."

I decided to make all the arrangements after returning home the next day. Although I was planning to stop in on the way home and return the following day, KIDO called and said: "There is urgent business, so come over." So I returned to Tokyo and met KIDO that night and he said: "Today, KURATOMI, who is the president of the Privy Council, handed in his letter of resignation. And he gave his reason for resigning that he is too old to continue his duties and also that he has eye disease. It seems that the Premier is quite worried about a successor. Actually, the other day when KURATOMI was returning from the conference of the Privy Council, he received audience from

The Annu Declaration

the Emperor and said: 'I wish to resign.' The Emperor replied: 'I will think it over.' Regardless of the wishes of the Emperor, Chief Cabinet Secretary FUTAGAMI immediately brought the letter of resignation to the Premier. Then he requested the Premier to relay the message, so the Premier was very worried about a successor and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was worried too. And the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: 'Count KIYOURA is good.' Then the Premier said: 'Let's appoint Vice-Chairman of the Privy Council HIRANUMA as the Chairman of the Privy Council with the understanding that he will not participate in any political activities.' The Premier said further: 'I wish to seek advice from Prince SAIONJI.' And we were troubled because this differs from the original plan but anyway it was decided that he would not consult the Prince but that, after consulting with the Grand Chamberlain, he would report to the Emperor. It is troublesome, since it is an incomplete mission, but anyway, will you go to Okitsu and report to the Prince.' So I told him that I would leave tomorrow night."

Then the following morning I sent a code telegram to the Prince telling him that the President of the Privy Council had handed in his letter of resignation, that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal recommends Count KIYOURA, and to ask KIDO for details.

I met the Premier in the afternoon and he said: "Since KIYOURA is old too, it is inevitable that HIRANUMA be approached. And how would it be to have HIRANUMA fulfil his duties with the understanding that

The Amau Declaration

he would not participate in the so-called political activities and the Kokuhon-sha?" Then I said: "The Prince is not saying whether it is good or bad for HIRANUMA to become President of the Privy Council, but that the position of the President of the Privy Council is very important, and not only that but it would be very troublesome if HIRANUMA should take that position and participate in the various movements or stimulate Rightist activities. And when a person of that type has power, serious consequences follow, and the Prince is worried from a broad point of view in regard to that point."

Then the Premier said: "Indeed, that is true. I will give it further consideration. Since the 27th is the grand festival for the Yasukuni Shrine, we set the date of the Cabinet Conference up one day but there was no difficult problem today."

KIDO came to my place about 4:30 P.M. and we had a general conversation. He left for Okitsu on the 7:30 P.M. train. Then the Prince called from Okitsu and said: "KIDO is coming on the 27th so can you come too." I replied: "Since Prince CHICHIBU is coming to Prince KONOYE's place in Hamakura, and KIDO cannot go, if I don't go either, because of a previous engagement it would be rather awkward, I will go tomorrow if possible." Then the Prince said: "That is quite satisfactory."

So I decided that I would leave right after KIDO returns.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 128
(3 May 1934)

Saionji Blocks Kiyoura

Translated by S/Sgt. Jack Tashiro

On the night of the 27th, I (HARADA) escorted Mrs. KIDO from KONOE's place in Kamakura to their home; just then KIDO returned from Okitsu so we had a talk and KIDO said: "The Prince said: 'As successor to the President of the Privy Council, Baron IKKI, Kitokuro, former Minister of the Imperial Household, is the most suitable. Whether he will accept or refuse the post is up to him and is not for us to worry about.'" KIDO continued: "As this matter gradually becomes settled, and since it is an important appointment, they will probably send another messenger for formality's sake to show that they are consulting the Prince."

Then I left on the night of the 27th and reached Okitsu on the morning of the 28th. In relaying the message of the Premier to the Prince, I said: "If the successor is to be IKKI that is fine but he probably will not be able to accept. Therefore Count KIYOURA is probably the most suitable. And if Count KIYOURA cannot become the successor, there is no other course but to promote Vice-President HIRANUMA as the successor. But I hope that Count KIYOURA will be able to become the successor. Naturally, it would be best if Baron IKKI can become the President of the Privy Council. Furthermore, I would like to ask for appropriate help from you (Prince)." Respecting a different problem, Councillor KUBOTA said: "If HIRANUMA who represents the Kokuho-sha, should become the successor to the Minister of Education then the unification of the nation will be realized for the first

Saionji Blocks Kiyoura

time."

When I went to make arrangements for the Prince's going to Tokyo, Vice-Minister of Railways KUBOTA (heir of Baron KUBOTA) said: "My uncle said this (just mentioned above)."

Then the Prince said: "In regard to the present problem which is the appointment of the President of the Privy Council, KIDO came and discussed various alternatives, but up to now the appointment of the President of the Privy Council has been the responsibility of the Premier and I have never heard of an instance where the Emperor consulted the Genro. Furthermore, it is practicable when there are such congenial persons as the present Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and Grand Chamberlain but since we do not know who will become the Grand Chamberlain or the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal in the future, to begin the practice of the Emperor consulting the Genro may have unpleasant consequences later. Therefore, it is most important for the Premier to take the responsibility in this case. Up to the present, when the Emperor has consulted the Genro on the matter, as a general rule the Premier has resigned. And in case there is no one to take the responsibility, the Emperor consults the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal consults the Genro so they come to consult me, but when there is actually a Premier, to start a practice of having the Emperor consult the Genro on such matters is not propitious. It however is not a situation of a light nature but a serious one which requires consultation with the Emperor and it must be considered from a more correct angle.

Saionji Blocks Kiyoura

Count KIYOURA's age differs from mine by only one year; in other words, Count KIYOURA is very old and although you say that in making Count KIYOURA President of the Privy Council he will probably be able to handle the Cabinet members the most easily. At present I do not think it important to be able to handle the Cabinet members. Therefore, if KIYOURA is appointed through the influence of TOKUTOMI and KURODA, Jo, there will be more danger than when President of the Privy Council, KURATONI, became the puppet of HIRANUMA.

"Although you say that the Premier said that it was customary for the Vice-President of the Privy Council to fill the position of President in case of retirement, in fact instances of that nature were just accidental and there is no need to refer to them. If HIRANUMA should become President, a portion of the militarists may be happy but only evil will come of that and there will be no benefits. Among the three men, IKKI, KIYOURA and HIRANUMA, IKKI is the best-versed on the constitution. Even if I do nominate IKKI, I have grounds for my faith. And, in regard to the Premier, tell him that I said: 'When you meet the Premier, tell him that although this is my verbal message, if he is to consult me, then I think that IKKI is the best.' So when you have a private conversation with the Premier, tell him your ideas by referring to the conversation that we are having now. And at the same time, tell the officials near the Emperor such as the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Grand Chamberlain of my opinions."

I returned to Tokyo on the 1:00 P.M. train and

Saionji Blocks Kiyoura

immediately sought the Premier. I told him everything that the Prince had said. The Premier said: "It is exactly as the Prince says and his ideas are true. The problem is whether IKKI will accept the position or not. There will be nothing better than to have him as President. Will you tell the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the officials near the Emperor exactly what you have just told me? And we will make plans according to the wishes of the Prince."

Then I went to the Teikoku Hotel for the wedding banquet of Marquis MAEDA. On the way home KIDO and I went to Kuwana; I told KIDO what the Prince had said in detail and KIDO said: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Minister of the Imperial Household said: 'Recalling the time when the Minister of the Imperial Household resigned, it doesn't seem likely that he will accept the position of President.'"

Since I wished to meet the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Grand Chamberlain, and since it was His Majesty's Birthday, I went to the Palace but I had no chance to meet them. Then at 9:30 on the morning of the 30th, I sought the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and told him in detail what the Prince had said. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "If IKKI will accept the position, then naturally there will be nothing better but in considering the conditions under which he resigned when Minister of Imperial Household, I doubt that he will accept the position as President of the Privy Council. Anyway, we should consult the Premier and have him take the responsibility and choose the right course. Naturally, I have no objec-

Saionji Blocks Kiyoura

tions. But in considering the point of getting the cooperation of the Cabinet members, I think that KIYOURA is better."

I said: "The Prince was saying that if the appointment of the President of the Privy Council were solely concerned with the internal affairs of the Privy Council, then there would be no need to place so much stress on the appointment, but the position of the President of the Privy Council is a position that has great influence in all political problems; furthermore, the fact that this position is of great importance is what we should worry about." And in regard to this, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal seemed to agree. Then I told the Lord Keeper that my impression was that KIYOURA was rather old, and that if he should become the puppet of TOKUTOMI and KUBOTA, there is more danger than under the former President. I told him this just for reference. Although the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "Naturally, it would be best if IKKI would accept the position," I felt that somebody had injected into his mind the desirability of preventing the acceptance of the post of President by IKKI.

Then I went to the Palace after 10:00 A.M. and had KIDO and the Minister of the Imperial Household come to the room of the Grand Chamberlain. I expressed the opinion of the Prince in detail but KIDO and the Minister of Imperial Household showed signs of disapproval. So I said: "There is no other way than having the Premier endeavor to get IKKI to accept the position. Others may become worried and say: 'The relationship of TANAKA to the former Minister of the Imperial Household may re-

Saionji Blocks Kiyoura

appear.' In that event it is inevitable that the people will say that the polity of Japan is influenced by TANAKA. The talk of TANAKA revealed matters concerned with the private affairs of the Imperial Family Council. This is a matter of extreme disrespect. To be unable to prevent the influence of such dishonest person is something to grieve about."

The Grand Chamberlain agreed with my opinion and he said: "It is best to endeavor to have IKKI accept the position." And in regard to the problem of the Emperor consulting the Prince, and the various other opinions of the Prince, they understood everything very clearly so I left for home about 11:00 P.M.

I went to see the Premier and told him in detail about the conversation that I had had with the Grand Chamberlain and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. The Premier said: "I want to meet IKKI in an unnoticeable manner. Can you think of a good method?"

On the 30th I met the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and on the 1st I met the Minister of War and we conversed on conditions during the time he was in office, and, as previously stated, the War Minister understood very thoroughly and he expressed the wish that things would mature as we hoped.

Then I went to the Foreign Affairs Ministry and at noon of the 5th they were to have lunch at the official residence of the Foreign Affairs Minister to celebrate the return of Prince TOKUGAWA and the trip to America of Prince KONOYE. I asked the Vice-Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Premier and the Chief Cabinet Secretary: "How would it be to invite the former

Saionji Blocks Kiyoura

Minister of the Imperial Household and the Premier to this party?" They replied. "That is a very fine idea so let's invite them."

But the newspaper reporters are very alert and they are saying "Something is about to happen. Isn't the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal going to quit" or "isn't there going to be a political change." Then again, some people are saying that the visit by the Prince to Tokyo on the second was not just a visit but a response to an order from the Emperor. And since there are rumors that there will be a new Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and a change in the situation, they are making the atmosphere seem as if there will be an overthrow of the Cabinet. As they are so clamorous, the Prince must be very careful when he reports to the Emperor, but fortunately, they did not know that the President of the Privy Council had handed in his resignation.

On the evening of the 1st, I left for Shizuoka and the weather was much nicer than the day before. The Prince was in fine health and he left at 9:30 on the 2nd and reached Tokyo at 2:30 P.M. I accompanied the Prince to Tsurugadai and returned home. I received a phone call from the Chief Cabinet Secretary who said that the Premier wanted to meet me and that he (Premier) was waiting for me. Then I went to see the Premier and he said: "Last night YUASA met IKKI and YUASA asked: 'Will you accept appointment as the President of the Privy Council?' And although he seemed to show some reluctance he (IKKI) said: 'If it is to be for the good of the nation, I would not even consider the problem of TANAKA. I don't think that there is any necessity to

Saionji Blocks Kiyoura

worry about such things. But anyway, before I decide whether to accept the position, I wish to meet Prince SAIONJI, to tell him my viewpoint and at the same time ask his opinion and then think the whole matter over.' Therefore, I heard that it was not hopeless, so although it is troublesome, I would like the Prince to summon Baron IKKI sometime tomorrow and to encourage him to accept the appointment as President of the Privy Council."

So I immediately went to see the Prince and told him what I had just heard; the Prince said: "Then call up Baron IKKI immediately and tell him to come to see me at 10:00 A.M. tomorrow."

I returned home and called Baron IKKI and he said: "I will do so." Baron IKKI was to report to the Prince at 10:00 A.M. on the 3rd. So I told Premier SAITO that Baron IKKI had accepted the invitation.

Saionji-Harada Memoirs

Chapter 129
(7 May 1934)

Ikki Succeeds Kuratomi

Translated by Staff Sgt Jack Tashiro

About 10:30 a.m. I received a phone call from the Prince and he said: "Will you come immediately." So I went to Tsurugadai and the Prince said: "Since Baron IKKI came, I said: 'At this time, wouldn't it be better to accept the position as President of the Privy Council instead of arguing.' Then IKKI said: 'When I resigned from the position of Minister of the Imperial Household, I received gracious consideration from the throne. So as far as I am concerned, naturally, I do not desire a higher position. I just hope to spend the rest of my life quietly.' Then I said: 'Instead of thinking about yourself all the time, wouldn't it be better to accept the appointment at this time with the determination to be of service to the nation.' And I urged him very plainly and since I urged him so strongly, he immediately said: 'I shall willingly accept the appointment.' "

Then the Prince continued: "If you (IKKI) stay here too long, the newspapers will print some bothersome things so I think it better for you to leave right away. And I will say that you came to make a call in view of the misfortune that befell Adviser OKADA, so you had better leave." So Baron IKKI left immediately.

I immediately called the official residence of the Premier and said: "He (IKKI) accepted the appointment. Will you make the necessary arrangements immediately?" So they relayed my message to the Premier. The Premier

Ikki Succeeds Kuratomi

sent the Chief Cabinet Secretary to the home of Baron IKKI about 12:00 m. and the Chief Cabinet Secretary asked:

"Is there need for you (IKKI) to meet with the Premier before you are appointed to the post?" IKKI replied:

"Although I need not meet him directly, I will call him on the phone." And he immediately called the Premier.

Then he secretly reported to the Emperor at about 4:00 p.m. for the convenience of the court. Then at 5:00 p.m. the ceremony of installation by his Majesty was held.

The fact that the letter of resignation handed in by President of the Privy Council KURATOMI about two weeks ago was not known by the public until now was a great success but it seems that Chief Cabinet Secretary FUTAGAMI was under the impression that the Vice-President of the Privy Council would be promoted to the presidency. And FUTAGAMI, who generally tells all the secrets of the Cabinet and the Privy Council to the newspaper reporters, kept this incident a secret because he thought that if he told it, it would be difficult for Vice-President of the Privy Council HIRANUMA to be promoted. And the fact that FUTAGAMI kept the secret made it possible for IKKI to be appointed president of the Privy Council. And I actually heard that:

"From about the 1st, Chief Cabinet Secretary FUTAGAMI kept telling the newspaper reporters:

"When Prince SAIONJI reports to Tokyo on the 2nd, there will be an appointment of personnel that will surprise you. So why don't you stay up all night from now on and watch for the news." Although KIDO and I had met the Chief Cabinet Secretary, and Vice-President of

Ikki Succeeds Kuratomi

the Privy Council. HIRANUMA, at the celebration of Marquis MAEDA, their attitude was greatly changed and they even greeted us very warmly.

On the 3rd, in regard to the trip the Prince had made to Tokyo, I received an award from the Emperor and Empress in acknowledgement of my services. So on the morning of the 4th, I went to the Palace and extended my thanks through the Vice-Grand Chamberlain. And at the invitation of the Grand Chamberlain to make a preliminary inspection of the steps of the corridor where the Prince is to receive audience of the Empress and the Crown Prince (since the Prince is so old, to see if the Prince is able to climb up and down the steps) I looked around the corridors.

Then I stopped in to see the Minister of Justice and I inquired in regard to the problems of the Justice Department, and the Minister of Justice said: "There are quite a few officials of the Finance Ministry who are involved in the Rayon case." He seemed quite worried, but he continued: "Even if Vice-Minister KUROTA is involved, I doubt if the whole Cabinet will have to take the responsibility. Furthermore, circumstances do not call for the Cabinet to take the whole responsibility."

At about 11:00 a.m. of the 4th, I went to the home of the Prince and had a general conversation. Then that night, at the detached home of SUMITOMO, with KONOYE as the host, they had the United States Ambassador as guest. Honored by the presence of Prince CHICHIBU, about ten of us including Minister and Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, had supper; the United States Ambassador and Prince CHICHIBU conversed very cordially.

Ikki Succeeds Kuratomi

At the same time with the announcement, after the ceremony of the official appointment by the Emperor of the President of the Privy Council was over, on the 3rd, the newspapers and the various people that I met on the 4th and 5th, and the numerous phone calls all agreed: "There never was a better and safer appointment at such a time as this." Furthermore they said: "The Prince's thoughtful decision." And they were all overjoyed. In regard to the appointment of Baron IKKI as the President of the Privy Council, it had a good influence on newspapers such as the Asahi and the Mainichi, various political parties, and those very close to HIRANUMA, such as the Kokumin Domei. At the farewell party for Prince KONOYE, I met various people and those who sat opposite to me were overjoyed because HIRANUMA did not become President and they said: "Since things have developed in this way, Baron HIRANUMA will probably not be able to become Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal nor Premier." From the fact that this appointment dispersed the atmosphere of fear, it made the public very happy, and from faint evidences I gathered that the Emperor was very well pleased.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 130
(16 May 1934)

Saionji In Tokyo

Translated by Lieut. Morio Morihara

Many conjectured that the Prince's visit to Tokyo was associated with some serious problem. There were some who actively spread rumors that there would be a change in the office of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, or a change in administration. In the end, they came across the change in the presidency of the Privy Council, and they said that the Prince's visit was for this purpose. Actually it was only a visit in which the Prince paid his respects to His Majesty, and he came to Tokyo to inquire of the Emperor's health and to meet the Crown Prince. Aside from this, it had no political significance at all. After the Prince's visit to Tokyo there were different rumors every day, and there were some that connected it with the Teikoku Bayon and Seikoshu Stocks scandal. Others said that it was necessary to select someone to replace the Genro, to reply to Imperial inquiries at the time of some future political change. Some say that there should be a consultative body some say that some senior statesmen should be appointed in addition to the President of the Privy Council and the Lord Keeper; some say that the whole Privy Council should be asked to answer Imperial inquiries, and there are people who suggest all kinds of theories. Before the Prince's visit to the Palace, he had gone to the dentist's once; aside from that he stayed quietly in Surugadai. At 1:30 P.M. on the 9th, the Prince visited the Palace, and after resting for a while, he received

Saionji In Tokyo

an audience with the Empress. At the same time, he met the Crown Prince and after withdrawing from the Imperial presences once, he had an audience with the Emperor at 2:00 o'clock. After that the Lord Keeper, the Grand Chamberlain, and the Minister of the Imperial Household had tea with him, and the Prince returned to his residence in Surugadai after 4:00 o'clock. He was very happy over the fine appearances of the Crown Prince. When the Prince had an audience with the Emperor, his Majesty expressed pleasure at the choice of Baron IKKI as President of the Privy Council, which made the Prince very happy.

On the 12th the Prince went to the Premier's residence to return a call. Senior members YAMAMOTO and TAKAHASHI also happened to be there, and they conversed on various topics for the first time in quite a while. After that he stopped over at his home in Hirakawa-Cho. He took some champagne with KONOYE and KIDO and spoke a few words on the subject of KONOYE's trip. He returned to his home about 11:45 P.M.

The Grand Chamberlain came on the morning of the 13th. In the afternoon the Minister of the Imperial Household came and they talked casually. On the 15th, he visited the Omiya Palace and received an audience with the Empress Dowager.

During the two weeks that the Prince had spent in Tokyo, rumors which were being spread continuously about the Teikoku Bayon and Taiwan Bank scandals. Some said that they were involving some high Government officials, and tried to utilize this to overthrow the Cabinet. The Prince's visit to Tokyo was also included

Saionji In Tokyo

in this vicious rumor-mongering. There were various opposing movements before KONOYE's departure for the United States, but he finally was able to leave on the 17th without encountering any difficulties. On the 15th, on his return from visiting the Imperial Sanctuary, he stopped at the Grand Chamberlain's place. He received a special audience with the Emperor, and he reported that he was going to America, whereupon the Emperor said just before his departure: "Take care of your self." KONOYE was very much moved, and he asked me to relay this to the Prince.

The Prince reported to the Empress Dowager at the Omiya Palace on the 15th: "There must be someone to work for the country from this family. For this reason, Prince KONOYE must do his utmost for the good of the country in the future." The Empress Dowager seemed quite pleased, and seemed to rely very much on Prince KONOYE. That was what the Prince said in the car. I thought that it was very good that KONOYE should be led in this way to have more confidence in himself.